Multilingualism in Algeria: the case of appellation of Algerian TV channels

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Abstract: Despite the official claims that Algeria is assembled around one language, sociolinguistic observations however substantiate the existence of multilingualism, the use of more than one language, in the country. Historically, different races co-inhabited with the Algerian indigenous Berbers. The phoneticians have marked their presence within the Algerian territories and been followed by the Europeans and the Arabs. Although it is only foreign today, French has exercised the most remarkable European impact on the Algerians. Classical Arabic, the language of Islam, has been elevated to the status of official and first national language. Dialectal Arabic is the native variety of the Algerian majority, simultaneously with the Berber minority language being also the second national language. Moreover, the global English language does not quit gaining ground in the country. The media is one politico-economic fountainhead of information and entertainment with a wide range of viewers worldwide. The Algerians are increasingly facing new media TV channels of which many are featured by multilingualism in their appellation. This paper focuses on this present sociolinguistic situation and attempts to describe the different manifestations of the phenomenon of multilingualism at this level.

Keywords: multilinguism, monolinguism, diglossia, TV channels, logo.

Résumé : Le phénomène du multilinguisme est l’une des caractéristiques qui domine le paysage sociolinguistique de l’Algérie, c’est devenu même une constance. Plusieurs variétés langagières persistent en dépit du statut officiel conféré à la langue arabe dans sa forme classique. Cette cohabitation des différentes variétés est attribuée à plusieurs invasions et peuplements qui ont laissé leurs impacts linguistiques. Ainsi, le paysage linguistique est marqué par la présence de l’arabealgérien en tant que première langue de la grande majorité des algériens, l’arabe classique en tant que langue nationale et officielle, la langue berbère en tant qu’une deuxième langue nationale et le français en tant qu’une langue étrangère qui se voit concurrencée par la langue anglaise suite à la mondialisation. L’un des domaines qui illustre cet effet linguistique de la mondialisation demeure celui de l’audio-visuel. Avec la politique d’ouverture sur le monde de l’audio-visuel, plusieurs chaînes de télévision ont vu le jour en Algérie. L’appellation même de ces chaînes illustre ce phénomène de multilinguisme qui est l’objet de ce présent article.

Mots clés : multilinguisme, monolinguisme, diglossie, chaînes de télévision, logo.

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1. Introduction

The present paper centres around three key concepts, namely monolingualism, bilingualism and diglossia, which form as such a triangle describing language use as it manifests in the Algerian TV channel appellation. Phenomena, such as code-switching with reference to the shifting between one and another language while speaking (Wales, K, 2011), code-mixing which may emerge in one conversation or often in a given sentence taking the form of alternating and repeated switching between languages (Trask, R, 2000), in addition to borrowing (the incorporation of elements into a recipient language (Field, F, 2002)) may also occur within the context of Algerian television channel appellation. However, they are currently hardly taken into account, and this may principally relate to the nature of this research which rather considers the written language.

Code-Switching, Code-mixing and borrowing are usually invoked within oral contexts. But, we are particularly interested in the written type of language “... because, like speech, writing is part of the culture of a community and carries important cultural meanings. Certain forms of writing may be associated with identity at national, group and individual levels” (Swann et al, 2004 334-335). Language in writing is represented in the form of scripts which may serve for example “... to express a common identity across different language communities; alternatively, different scripts may be preferred to express distinct community identities (...)” (Swann et al, 2004 334-335). Other further details on scripts are found in Section 4.3.

Unlike monolingual users who employ one unique language, multilinguals are those users of more than one language. Literature refers several times, as the case here, to multilingualism synonymously with bilingualism. On the other hand, diglossia (Ferguson, 1959) indicates the sociolinguistic situation where two language varieties, one high and the other low, co-prevail to fulfill distinct functional roles. In Algeria, (Classical/ Modern) Standard Arabic (SA) is supposed to be the high variety which is associated with formal settings. However, informality is left to Algerian (or Dialectal) Arabic (AA), the low variety.

2. The Algerian TV Channels

The French television broadcasting pioneered television transmission in Algeria in the mid-fifties. The event was particularly specific because it was the first broadcasting diffusing concurrently in Standard Arabic and French, or summarily bilingual programmes, in the world. Other television transmitters subsequently appeared in, additionally to Algiers, Oran, Blida and Constantine. The year of 1962 however marked the departure of French colonisers accompanied by their last television broadcasting in the

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1 “The systematic, conventional use of sounds, signs, or written symbols in a human society for communication and self-expression” (Crystal, 1999: 454)
2 Television
3 One language kind
4 It is the first language acquired from birth by the Algerian majority
5 Algerian TV channel apppellations appear in different language varieties written in different scripts (see 4.3). For avoiding any confusion before data analysis, the apppellations used in the theoretical sections correspond to the ones displayed on television once launching a channel research on satellite networks.
6 Radiodiffusion-télévision française (R.T.F.)
area. The mission of transmission was very soon transferred to the Algerian television broadcasting, in colour for the first time in 1972.

Since that time, television broadcasting had born a full control of Algerian authorities that started to lessen their degree of intervention however after the amendments brought by the late eighties’ constitution within the scope of the media. A couple of years later, the only Television National Enterprise (TVNE)\(^7\) gave subsequently birth to other Algerian national television channels, namely Canal Algérie Algeria’s Channel in 1994, Algérie 3 Algeria 3 in 2001, then both TV Tamazight 4 Tamazight TV 4 and TV Coran 5 Coran TV 5 in 2009. The above television channels are all still today state-possessed broadcasters (public), under the supervision of Television National Enterprise.

Once media privacy has gained ground in Algeria, numerous Algerian TV channels have made their appearance on satellite. They start as experimental channels revealing their Algerian identity, then often successfully substantiate their permanent 24 hour-diffusion. Some channels are indicated and illustrated in Table 1. Many of them are already based in Algeria from where they broadcast; others have their operators abroad: In Europe such as France and United Kingdom, or in the Arab World (as in Bahrain and Jordan). Whether diffusing from or out of the country, all the Algerian TV channels are urged to operate and have their local license in compliance with the Algerian media laws. Online broadcasting also characterizes several Algerian TV channels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Public Channels</th>
<th>Private Channels</th>
</tr>
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</table>

**Table 1: Some Algerian Television Channels\(^8\)**

The table above demonstrates the appellation of a number of both public and private Algerian TV channels\(^9\). As indicated earlier, Canal Algérie, Algérie 3, TV Amazigh (or Tamazight) 4 and TV Coran 5 are public channels with Television National Enterprise\(^10\) as their major source of influence. Canal Algérie is a French speaking channel which aims at reinforcing the cultural connection with the Algerian immigrants who settled down in the Western World and diffuses even for those Westerners interested in following the political, social and economic updated news on the Algerian society. The channel has been first named ‘Algerian TV’ before it obtains its alternative nomination, Canal Algérie. The audiovisual services of Algérie 3 on the other hand are rather orientated towards the Arab World population and more particularly the Algerian residents in the Arab countries. This channel intends to present and familiarize this audience with the Algerian heritage in its different spheres. The fourth public channel is the Berber/Tamazight version of Television National Enterprise. It broadcasts mainly for Tamazight communities such as

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\(^7\) L’Entreprise Nationale de Télévision (ENTV) (see also Section 2)

\(^8\) See footnote 12

\(^9\) Some of them have been provided with their English equivalents in this table for more clarification

\(^10\) See footnote 12
Kabyles, Chaouis and Mzabs. While Tamazight TV 4 deals with Berber patrimony and language, the fifth national channel, Coran TV 5, is typically religious. The latter channel aims to be the van of Islamic principles and education.

If Television National Enterprise has increased the number of its subsidiary broadcasters, private channels have largely proliferated and privacy is still constantly inciting the emergence of other new channels. A great deal of them (these private channels) broadcasts from Algeria\(^{11}\), such as Ennahar TV launched in 2012, Samira TV and KBC TV in 2013, Wiam TV in 2014; but, another massive number of private channels has location abroad: From London, for example, El Maghrebia TV and Hogar TV are launched in 2011 and 2012 respectively; Beur TV is based in France and created in 2003. There are private channels with permanent diffusion (such as Echourouk TV, Samira TV, L’Index Algérien TV, El Maghrebia TV); other channels however are only temporary. Before shutting down again, Wiam TV, for instance, has broadcasted a couple of weeks to sustain Abdelaziz Bouteflika’s candidature in the presidential elections of 2014. Many private channels are also featured by their affiliation to the newspaper with their same name such as Numidia News, KBC TV and Ennahar TV. They are characterised, too, by the predominance of news over most of their broadcasting. Private channels could also be thematic in the sense that Samira TV offers culinary programmes, L’Index TV is regional and devoted to programmes on the area of Constantine, Haddaf TV is rather concerned with sport, and Durjura TV diffuses for children.

3. The Visual Identification of Algerian TV Channels
Selecting a given channel on TV shows well clearly that this channel identifies itself via a symbol frequently located on the above right side of its immediate visual broadcasted programme. This symbol usually consists of a logo, with a slogan sometimes. The former appears in the form of a graphic representation of the television channel in question. The latter is a memorable sequence of words that may accompany, as said, the channel logo.

![Figure 1. Diachronic Variation in Algerian TV Channel Logos\(^{12}\)](image)

Diachronically, the first Algerian TV channel has gone through different symbols of its visual identification. The first logo was attributed to the French Television Broadcasting in 1956, then changed in 1959 into another symbol which lasted nearly three years. After Algeria’s independence, another change was exerted on the visual symbol of the channel as a matter of fact to reflect eventually the Algerian identity, then the symbol bore the last alterations to become the current visual representation from the year of 1986.

\(^{11}\) Although some of them were first launched from abroad

\(^{12}\) TVPE stands for Television Public Establishment (Etablissement Public de Télévision (EPTV))
Although most of Algerian television channels, whether public or private, have their logos, a number of them do not however, probably because they are still at the start of their broadcasting (e.g. Alnoor, Dzaïr 24, Dzair 3, DZAIR16, DZAIR PUB). In the major cases of channel identification symbols, logos involve phrases designating their channels. The channel appellation, the scope of the study, could be either full or abbreviated. It is full as in the following logos:

![Alnoor](image1.png) ![DZAIR16](image2.png) ![Dzair 3](image3.png) ![Alnoor](image4.png)

**Figure 2. Algerian TV Channel Logos with Full Appellation**

In case the appellation has gone through abbreviation, it becomes either fully or partially abbreviated. Examples on fully abbreviated appellations are demonstrated in Table 2. They are, in this way, known as initialisms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initialisms</th>
<th>Full Phrases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TV</td>
<td>El Khabar Broadcasting Corporation News Broadcasting Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNA</td>
<td>Chaine Nord-Africaine North African Channel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 2. Some Algerian Channel Initialisms**

An initialism consists of the first letter of each word in the appellation phrase but not necessarily always. TV, for example, is an intitialism which takes the letter V from the middle of the word television. There exist other channels with logos including partial abbreviations in the sense that some parts of the appellation are composed of initialisms whereas the others are full,

![HOGAR TV](image5.png) ![SHOW TV](image6.png) ![Aures](image7.png)

**Figure 3. Partially Abbreviated Channel Appellations**

A couple of Algerian TV channels, and so are their logo appellations, are affiliated to the same Media Individual/ Group Owners. For instance,
Table 3. Some Algerian Affiliated TV Channels

It also happens that the logo appellation has a special reference to names of places, people or simply indicate a nationality, as the following logos illustrate:

Table 4: Reference in Some Channel Appellations

4. Methodology

We collected our data on the basis of two methods. The first method was observation. While watching television, we paid a particular attention to Algerian channels and gave more specific importance to their visual identification symbols. We undertook afterwards the (second) method of copy-paste of the symbol from some internet websites (see Webliography). Due to time and space restrictions, we were content with the written appellations in their corresponding logos in our analysis and excluded the examination of other elements such as slogans, TV channels’ language use, TV viewers’ attitudes unless required for discussing our data. The analysis adopted is typically qualitative as far as the current investigation is concerned. This means that the results are described without proceeding statistical approaches. We have also hypothesised that the Algerian TV channel logo appellations are subjected to monolingualism, bilingualism and/or diglossia.

4 Findings and Discussion

4.1 Monolingualism

Several logos attest the inclusion of one unique language. Although Algeria is claimed monolingual with Standard Arabic as the official and first national language of the country, other language varieties, too, monolingually and simultaneously manifest. As demonstrated in Figure 4, the languages used solely are Standard Arabic, Algerian Arabic, French and English. Data do not involve any monolingual use of the second national language of Algeria, Berber.
4.1.1 Monolingual Use of Standard Arabic

The unique integration of SA is witnessed at the level of an important couple of logos (see Figure 5). The channels in question are either public or private. Most of them are supposed to diffuse their programmes in this language (SA) (although borrowing from/switching to AA and French or their mixing may also take place), a fact that could explain why choice has fallen on SA to be the language of their logo appellation.

4.1.2 Monolingual Use of Algerian Arabic

Some channel logos (Figure 6) appear in the so-called unwritten Algerian Arabic (see 4.3.1a). One recurrent example, as shown below, is the name of place “Dzair” Algiers which is in the so-called written Arabic (or SA) “الجزائر” (see 4.3.1a) and usually refers to the Algerian capital, but sometimes employed by some Algerian speakers to designate their country as a whole. The channels that involve “Dzair” in their logo appellations all belong to Haddad Ali’s private broadcasting group. Employing the mother tongue is one way of showing solidarity with its users. The underlying objective is probably therefore to draw the intention of the majority of Algerian TV viewers through AA which directly mirrors their identity.
4.1.3 Monolingual Use of French

Despite the ambitious project of Arabisation that has entered into force for years in Algeria, and despite the foreign status constitutionally allocated to the colonial language, daily observations tend to reveal a different reality. Diverse fields including university, sport, hairdressing, marketing and others still make, in many ways, a large use of French. The media is another field illustrated in this work that confirms the actual position of French language in Algeria.

![Figure 7. Channel Appellations in French](image)

A number of channels have exercised choice of French in their logos probably due to the worldwide prestige enjoyed by this language, particularly in Algeria. Indeed, one of the primordial objectives of French colonial policy was to upgrade and elevate French language to superior standing in the speakers’ minds. The first logo on the left above belongs to “Canal Algérie” channel which is widely viewed by local and immigrant Algerians as well as some foreign audience. This fact is more clearly noticed during broadcasting debating programmes, when presenters receive huge numbers of local and international calls.

4.1.4 Monolingual Use of English

One of the most obvious situations in which French and English survive a patent competition is TV channel appellations found within their logos. The global emergence of English as the language of technology and commerce has gently reached the Algerian sociolinguistic landscape. As television is one means for technological and commercial broadcasting, many Algerian channels tend to diffuse their documentaries and entertainment programmes (e.g. films, songs) in English. Compared with French, it seems that this language is getting more and more interesting among youngsters possibly owing to its global image as stylish, present-day and leading-edge.

![Figure 8. Channel Appellations in English](image)

4.2 Multilingualism and Diglossia

The monolingual presence of Algerian Arabic, French and English next to the official and first national language in Algerian TV channels has not been the whole story. The current findings validate, as well, the emanation of multilingualism in this environment. There has been multilingual occurrence in the sense that two or more languages have co-arisen within the same logo. They are Standard Arabic simultaneously with French or English; Algerian Arabic with English; Berber with French or with English; French simultaneously with English. The concurrent use of three languages: Standard Arabic together with French and English on the one hand and on the other, the

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13 It persists even though many claims refer to diachronically constant decease of French use in the world
one of Berber with English and French have also appeared. Unlike the above multilingual (and monolingual) situations, the diglossic use or co-prevalence of Standard Arabic together with Algerian Arabic is totally absent from data. Our hypothesis regarding diglossia is then refuted.

The same could be said about bilingualism at the level, to say the least, of the following varieties which have not been encountered in such co-occurrences: Standard Arabic/ Berber; Algerian Arabic/ Berber; Standard Arabic/ French; Algerian Arabic/ French

Concerning the last two sociolinguistic combinations, it seems that we are confronted to an out-of-the-ordinary multilingual non-attendance in the Algerian setting. Usually, French may be used bilingually with Standard Arabic on signs of shops and roads for instance, or billboards, and also employed next to Algerian Arabic in everyday speech. Their absence can be considered temporary if we expect the appearance of other new channels opting for their use on their logos, or if we assume that other TV channel appellations have been missed in our data and thus are not taken them into account in this study. In the opposite case, some sociolinguistic changes, we can suggest, are taking place in Algeria, at least, with regard to bilingual appellations. This could be proposed for a further research.

4.2.1 Standard Arabic/ English Multilingualism

A good deal of data (Figure 10) shows the prevalence of Standard Arabic together with English language.
According to the achieved findings, there are four sub-classes under this section. In the first class, English manifests and takes the form of ‘TV’ abbreviating the word *television* as illustrated below,

The second sub-class involves those logos in which the English word ‘news’ appears simultaneously with another word in Standard Arabic.

English in the third sub-class emerges a bit more importantly in the form of both ‘TV’ and ‘news’

In the last sub-class, code-switching occurs between Standard Arabic and English. The following example illustrates (see Section 2), the initialism KBC standing for Khabar Broadcasting Corporation.

### 4.2.2 Algerian Arabic/ English Multilingualism

As seen in Section 4.1.2, Algerian Arabic is specifically apparent in ‘Dzair’. English, however, manifests as *shop*, the abbreviation *pub* standing for *publicity*, and as the variant *news*. The words *shop* and *pub* relate to advertisement unlike *news* in *Dzair news* which deals more with programmes associated with politics and economy.

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4.2.3 French/Berber Multilingualism

The French ‘jeunesse’ *youth* is used in parallel with Berber occurring as one letter only. This letter, ⵽, comes from the ancient Berber writing system, Tifinagh. It stands for the Latin *z* and symbolises the Berber individual as *free man* or ‘Amazigh’ in Berber language. This channel with this logo broadcasts from France and diffuses also and alternatively in Berber and French. The logo in question reflects well, seemingly, the sociolinguistic situation of its channel.
Figure 12. Channel Appellations in French/ Berber

4.2.4 English/ Berber Multilingualism

These TV channel logos (see Figure 13) make use of the amazigh’s symbol (ⵣ) like the just above section (see Figure 12). The difference between the two sections however is the choice of the second language together with Berber in the logos below: English arises in the forms ‘music’ and ‘television’ respectively instead of French. We particularly witness nowadays the increasing interest in English (especially American) music among the Algerian youngsters probably again under the impact of globalisation. Berber music channel in this way would attempt to promote Berber music by introducing to the world this music type through its appellation in Berber together with English.

Figure 13. Channel Appellations in English/ Berber

4.2.5 French/ English Multilingualism

While analysing data, we have come at hand across the logos characterised by the bilingual co-occurrence of French and English. The first logo encompasses Beur béur and the initialism TV which both correspond respectively to the languages just mentioned. The same respective correspondence features the second logo embodying the words stade stadium and news. ‘TV’ and ‘News’ seemingly constitute recurrent multilingual channel appellations. Will they be extended in use to further multilingual logos? Will English reach, through ‘TV’ and ‘News’, monolingual channel appellations? The questions are still open for further research studies.

Figure 14. Channel Appellations in French/ English

4.2.6 Standard Arabic/ French/ English Multilingualism

Figure 15. Channel Appellation in SA/French/ English
Here is an additional logo involving again the English intialism TV. More interestingly, it is employed concurrently with the French L’index index and Classical Arabic الجزائرية Algerian. Unlike Standard Arabic/ French multilingualism, multilingualism Standard Arabic/ English prevails in data (see 4.2.1). In the above logo, French and English confirm their competition within channel logos. Is English smoothly substituting for French in Algerian channel appellations? Will French disappear from these appellations someday leaving ground to English? Only a longitudinal and diachronic investigation may provide some tentative answers.

4.2.7. English/ French/ Berber Multilingualism

From the top to the bottom, they are respectively Berber, French and English languages that are perceived on the logo (Figure 16). Berber is like in the previous sections 4.2.3 and 4.2.4 present via the Tifinagh letter (ⵣ). While French takes place through the feminine adjectival term Berbère berber, ‘Television’ is given in English. The two forms Berbère and Television meet the English word order rule (adjective + noun). The aim behind the multilingual use of Berber, French and English is apparently to attract mainly Berber viewers by making respectively sociolinguistic reference to identity, prestige and modernity. Or, this is just another example of the competition between French and English within Algerian speech community.

Figure 16. Channel Appellations in Berber/ French/ English

4.3 Script

A script designates a sequence of letters in which a given language is written. This sequence could be based on a specific alphabet. In this work, Arabic, Latin and Tifinagh alphabets constitute the scripts used to write the language varieties present in this context.

4.3.1 Monolingualism

It is the use of one language in one or more given scripts. If language writing does not meet the original script of this language and is represented in a different script, it is said, in this case, that the language in question has undergone the process of transliteration. While this heading involves some appellations provided in either Arabic or Latin letters, it also covers other appellations in which their languages bear their original script together with their transliteration. It is, on the other hand, noticed that no language, including Berber, has been monolingually represented in Tifinagh letters.

- Monolingual Use of Arabic Letters

This section is restricted to Classical Arabic and Algerian Arabic only. Although Algerian Arabic has been long considered unwritten (see 4.1.2), it is below and Classical Arabic supplied in Arabic letters. No examples in the languages Berber, French or English have been transliterated here in the sense that they have not been converted into the Arabic script.
Monolingual Use of Latin Letters

All the language varieties that have been seen in this study have monolingually survived the Latin script in TV channel appellations except Berber. French and English are written in their original letters whereas Classical Arabic and Algerian Arabic have been transliterated and, in this sense, it could be said that the latter two languages have gone through latinisation. Table 6 illustrates,

Monolingual Use of Arabic/Latin Letters

Only Classical Arabic writing has born Arabic and Latin scripts within the same logos. Data in Algerian Arabic, Berber, French or English does not show the same results in their monolingual presence.

4.3.2 Multilingualism

It indicates presently the use of more than one language in Arabic letters, Tifinagh letters or Latin letters, as it could be the same use in more than one script within the same given logo: Arabic and Latin, or Tifinagh and Latin as far as our findings are concerned. There seems to be no presence of multilingual use of Arabic letters neither is there multilingual use of Arabic together with Tifinagh scripts.
• **Multilingual Use of Latin Letters**

Multilingualism manifests at the level of the combination of the language varieties Classical Arabic and English; Algerian Arabic and English; English and French. It is clear that the global language prevails in all these multilingual categories. However, no bilingualism is attested with regard to Standard Arabic and French; Algerian Arabic and French; Standard Arabic and Berber; Algerian Arabic and Berber; Berber and French; Berber and English. The case of first four co-occurrences of languages is expected due to their already multilingual absence in 4.2.

![Figure 8. Multilingual Use of Latin Scripts](image)

• **Multilingual Use of Arabic and Latin Letters**

The following categories of varieties, Standard Arabic and French; Algerian Arabic and French; Standard Arabic and Berber; Algerian Arabic and Berber; Berber and French; Berber and English do not display any multilingual appearance in both Arabic and Latin scripts. As demonstrated in Table 9, the languages that co-occur bilaterally are Classical Arabic/English and Algerian Arabic/English, and those being employed trilaterally are combined as Classical Arabic/French/English. Transliteration has partially affected some logos involving the Classical and Algerian types of Arabic.

![Table 9. Multilingual Use of Arabic/ Latin Scripts](image)

• **Multilingual Use of Tifinagh and Latin Letters**

The non-occurrence of multilingual categories, Berber/ French, Berber/ English, Berber/ French/ English in the different sections above of this work neither excludes nor hinders the prevalence of these varieties under the present heading and this is clearly shown in Table 10. The appellations ostensibly imply that many Berbers stick to their identity through TV channels and endeavour to associate it with prestige and modernity.
5. Conclusion
The present paper has dealt with the Algerian speech community where it has particularly shed light on the different manifestations of multilingualism as it occurs in television channel appellations. Our hypothesis that both monolingualism and multilingualism characterize these appellations has been validated unlike diglossia which has not marked its presence within this context. Although monolingualism has been attested, it is but another multilingual sign of the simultaneous presence of different languages in separate Algerian television channel logos. On the other hand, the competition between French and English is obvious in the appellations, a fact which affirms the increasing emergence of the global language in the Algerian speech community. A qualitative analysis has been undertaken so far. From the perspective of more comprehensive conclusions, we intend to conduct a quantitative approach to the same data at hand in a future study.

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